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ACTION AF-01

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R 161243Z AUG 94  
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1429

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KAMPALA 006541

FOR AF AND AF/C ONLY FROM RAWSON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: TWO WEEKS ALONG IN KIGALI

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AMBASSADOR RAWSON IN KIGALI HAS ASKED AMEMBASSY  
KAMPALA TO SEND OUT THE FOLLOWING REPORT.

3. SUMMARY. TWO WEEKS HAVE BROUGHT VITAL SIGNS OF  
LIFE BACK TO KIGALI BUT MUCH OF THE COUNTRY SIDE  
REMAINS IN COMA. RWANDA IS NOW HOOKED UP TO AN  
INTERNATIONAL LIFE-SUPPORT SYSTEM WHOSE COSTS CANNOT  
BE INDEFINITELY MAINTAINED. ITS NASCENT GOVERNMENT  
MUST GAIN LEGITIMACY AND VITALITY FROM RETURNING  
POPULATIONS OR IT WILL ATROPHY. BASELINES FOR  
DIAGNOSIS OF RWANDA'S CONDITION AND PROGNOSIS OF ITS  
FUTURE INCLUDE ITS SECURITY SITUATION, DEGREE OF  
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POLITICAL OPENNESS, ECONOMIC PROSPECTS, UNAMIR'S  
ABILITY TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE, IMPLEMENTATION OF AN  
UP-COUNTRY STRATEGY, AND LEVEL OF NATION STATE  
SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS.

4. SECURITY. THE PART OF RWANDA CONTROLLED BY THE  
RWANDAN GOVERNMENT IS MORE SECURE THAN IT HAS BEEN  
SINCE THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC ARMY INVADED RWANDA FROM  
UGANDA IN OCTOBER 1990. THE RPF HAS ROUTED THE  
REGULAR ARMY AND CHASED MILITIA BEYOND THE BORDERS.

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A FEW CHECK POINTS DOT ROADS RADIATING OUT FROM KIGALI TOWARDS THE BORDER, BUT TRAFFIC FLOWS SMOOTHLY. HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS OPERATE FREELY (AS COULD OUR MILITARY, SHOULD THEIR HUMANITARIAN MISSION REQUIRE) THROUGHOUT THE LAND. EXPATRIATE HUMANITARIAN STAFF CAN MOVE IN COMPLETE SAFETY CROSS COUNTRY OR ALONG KIGALI'S STREETS, DAY OR NIGHT. MANY OF OUR ROOMS AT THE HOTEL DIPLOMAT HAVE NO LOCKS, YET NOT AN ITEM HAS BEEN TOUCHED.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, RPF OFFICERS AND THEIR RELATIVES RETURNING FROM EXILE HAVE LOOTED AND EXPROPRIATED HOUSES, STORES AND WAREHOUSES, CONSIDERING THE BOOTY AND LUXURIOUS BILLETING JUST REWARD FOR THIRTY YEARS OF EXILE. RETURNING HUTU'S ARE SUBJECT TO SCRUTINY AT CHECK POINTS AND IMMEDIATE ARREST IF SUSPECTED OF PARTICIPATION IN THE MASSACRES. HUTUS DISAPPEAR AND TUTSIS, OFTEN FROM UGANDA OR BURUNDI, QUICKLY TAKE THEIR JOBS. A DECEPTIVE QUIET HANGS OVER THIS TOWN THAT STILL HARBORS DEEP SUSPICIONS AND FEARS.

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6. POLITICAL OPENNESS. PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU IS STILL FIGHTING RPF LEADERSHIP IN AN EFFORT TO PRESERVE THE ARUSHA FORMULA OF PARTY BALANCE AND POWER SHARING IN GOVERNMENT. HE HAS BEEN MODERATELY SUCCESSFUL. THE GOVERNMENT IS REPRESENTATIVE OF REGIONS AND HOLD A CURIOUS MIX OF OPPOSITION HUTU, RPF HUTU, INLAND TUTSI AND EXILE TUTSI. THE POSITION OF MINISTER OF PLAN REMAINS OPEN IN THE HOPE THAT SOME MRND HUTU WILL HAVE THE COURAGE TO SIGN ON. RPF DOMINATES WITH ITS NINE POSITIONS INCLUDING THAT OF PRESIDENT. MORE IMPORTANTLY, THE GOVERNMENT DEPENDS ON THE RPF APPARATUS FOR SECURITY, FOR EXTERNAL CONTACTS, FOR FINANCING AND FOR ALL MATERIAL RESOURCES.

7. IT WILL BE FASCINATING TO SEE HOW THIS CURIOUS GOVERNMENTAL MIX EVOLVES. THE KEY TO SECURING MORE OPENNESS AND BROAD-BASED REPRESENTATION IN THE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION IS TO GIVE THAT GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION, ESPECIALLY ITS NON-RPF MEMBERS, THE ELEMENTARY CAPACITY TO FUNCTION, TO REACH OUT TO THEIR PEOPLE AND BE SEEN AS EFFECTIVE IN PROVIDING BASIC SERVICES. MINISTERS AND THEIR

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ADMINISTRATIONS NEED AUTONOMY FROM RPF CONTROL.  
TWAGIRAMUNGU CANNOT ADEQUATELY CONTEST RPF DOMINANCE  
WHEN HE HAS TO GO TO KAGAME FOR AN ESCORT UP-COUNTRY  
OR LINE UP TO CALL ON RPF'S IMARSAT PHONE.

8. ECONOMIC PROSPECTS. KIGALI HAS BEEN  
"VANDALIZED." LIKE ANCIENT CONQUERORS, THE  
FORMERLY-DISCIPLINED RPA, ONCE THEY HAD TAKEN KIGALI,  
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TURNED INTO A MARAUDING HORDE, EMPTYING HOUSES AND  
STOREHOUSES, SCATTERING RECORDS AND MEMENTOS.  
RELATIVES AND FRIENDS FROM UGANDA AND BURUNDI MOVED  
INTO ANY AVAILABLE LUXURY HOME. THE GOVERNMENT  
PROTESTS THAT THIS IS A TEMPORARY PHENOMENON;  
PROPERTIES ARE TO BE RETURNED TO THEIR PROPER OWNERS  
ONCE PROP  
RIETORSHIP IS ESTABLISHED. LOOTING HAS  
DIMINISHED SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS BUT  
PROPERTIES, INCLUDING OUR OWN, ARE STILL BEING  
VIOLATED. GENERAL KAGAME ADMITS HE HAS A PROBLEM AND  
THE GOVERNMENT HAS SET UP A COMMISSION TO DEAL WITH  
THE ISSUE. BUT THE LESSON THAT ANYONE AFFILIATED TO  
RPF MILITARY POWER CAN TAKE WHATEVER PLEASURES HIM WILL  
BE UNLEARNED WITH DIFFICULTY.

9. THE RESULT IS THAT BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE HAS  
SURVIVED THIS LOW-TECH CIVIL WAR, BUT ECONOMIC

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KAMPALA 006541

FOR AF AND AF/C ONLY FROM RAWSON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: TWO WEEKS ALONG IN KIGALI

CAPITAL IN RURAL AND URBAN RWANDA HAS BEEN DESTROYED. OUT ON THE HILLSIDES, FARMERS HAVE FLED BEFORE THE RPF OUT OF FEAR AND INTIMIDATION, LEAVING THEIR HARVEST (AND NEXT SEASON'S SEED) STANDING IN THE FIELD. THE GOVERNMENT HAS YET TO INDUCE A MASSIVE RETURN TO THE LAND; WHILE SOME ZONES ARE SEEING A MODEST REPRISAL OF AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY, MOST RURAL LANDS UNDER GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY ARE EMPTY. MEANWHILE THE CAPITAL ASSETS OF KIGALI AND OTHER TOWNS HAVE BEEN RIPPED UP, SOLD OFF AND SHIPPED TO UGANDA AND BURUNDI. FURTHERMORE, THOUGH FORMER GOVERNMENT FORCES LEFT MANY OF KIGALI'S ASSETS INTACT, THEY DID TAKE THE BANKS WITH THEM. STATE TREASURIES ARE VIRTUALLY EMPTY. RELAUNCHING RWANDA'S  
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ECONOMY WILL REQUIRE AN INFUSION OF FUNDS TO RESTORE A MONETARY ECONOMY, RENEWED RESPECT FOR PERSONAL PROPERTY, REVIVED CONFIDENCE OF RURAL POPULATIONS IN THEIR GOVERNMENT AND CAREFUL STEWARDSHIP OF THE VERY LIMITED RESOURCES AT THE GOVERNMENT'S DISPOSAL.

10. FULFILLING UNAMIR'S MANDATE. ON APRIL 6, UNAMIR HAD THE WRONG MANDATE; IT HAD COME AS A PEACEKEEPING FORCE WITH THE ASSUMPTION THAT BOTH SIDES WANTED ITS PRESENCE AND ATTENDANT PEACE. EVER HOPING FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, UN HEADQUARTERS PROHIBITED THE FORCE COMMANDER FROM USING FORCE. NOW DALLAIRE HAS A MANDATE UNDER SR 918 AND 925 TO EXERCISE FORCE IN PROTECTING THE INNOCENT, GUARDING HUMANITARIAN

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OPERATIONS AND BUTRESSING THE CEASEFIRE/PEACE PROCESS. BUT UNAMIR MUST FULFILL THAT MANDATE AND NOWHERE MORE IMPORTANTLY THAN IN THE IMMINENT TAKE-OVER OF THE FRENCH HUMANITARIAN ZONE. THE PEOPLE THERE ARE FRIGHTENED, TIRED BUT WILL MOVE AGAIN IF UNAMIR CANNOT NOT REASSURE THEM AND KEEP THE GOVERNMENT FROM TOO QUICKLY ASSERTING ITS CONTROL. UNAMIR MUST ALSO GIVE CREDENCE TO ITS PROTECTION MANDATE IN THE NORTHWEST CORRIDOR WHERE REFUGEES ARE RETURNING HOME AND IN THE EAST WHERE REFUGEES ARE STILL CROSSING OVER INTO TANZANIA.

11. TO CARRY OUT ITS MANDATE IN RWANDA'S FAR CORNERS, UNAMIR MUST LAND ADEQUATE EQUIPMENT AND ADEQUATE TROOPS WITHIN A WEEK. THE GHANAIS ARE MOSTLY HERE BUT STILL NEED BIVOUAC MATERIALS, NIGHT VISION EQUIPMENT AND UTILITY VEHICLES. THE

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ETHIOPIANS ARE REPORTEDLY READY TO COME; THE TUNISIANS APPARENTLY NEED TOPPING OFF IN EQUIPMENT. YOU ARE BETTER ABLE THAN WE TO TRACK WITH THE UN AND OUR OWN MILITARY WHAT IS REQUIRED TO GET THESE TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT ON THE GROUND, BUT WE MUST BEGIN TO MOVE THEM HERE NOW OR RWANDA'S PEOPLE WILL ONCE AGAIN BE LEFT TO THEIR OWN (HORRENDOUS) DEVICES.

12. AN UP-COUNTRY STRATEGY. DEALING WITH DISASTER IN THIS AREA REQUIRES AN UP-COUNTRY APPROACH WITH THE CAPACITY TO QUICKLY MOVE ASSISTANCE TO COPE WITH EVER NEW CONTINGENCIES. IN THE BEST OF SCENARIOS, REFUGEE OUTFLOWS FROM RWANDA EVENTUALLY STOP AND PEOPLE BEGIN RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES. IN THIS CASE KIGALI BECOMES THE HUB OF A RECONSTRUCTION AND RECONCILIATION EFFORT WHICH WOULD PROVIDE BASIC SERVICES AND PLACE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AND COMMUNITY WORKERS IN REGIONAL CENTERS AND OUTLYING DISTRICTS. THE QUICKEST WAY TO LEVERAGE SERVICES IS TO HAVE USAID FUND AND THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS CONTRACT REPAIR TEAMS FOR WATER, ELECTRIC, ROAD AND COMMUNICATIONS INFRASTRUCTURE. TO HELP RWANDA REBUILD SOCIALLY, HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AND PVO COMMUNITY WORKERS MUST BE VISIBLE, ACTIVE AND ACCESSIBLE OUT ON RWANDA'S HILLSIDES.

13. IN THE WORSE SCENARIO, THE DISPLACED BUST OUT OF

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THE SOUTHWEST OR REFUGEES POUR BACK INTO THE  
NORTHWEST OVERWHELM  
ING SERVICES PRE-POSITIONED FOR  
THEM. IN THIS INSTANCE, KIGALI BECOMES THE HUB OF A  
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REGIONAL HUMANITARIAN EFFORT, PROVIDING C-130 FLIGHTS  
TO CYANGUGU OR GISENYI OR LINKING UP HEAVY-HAUL  
SUPPLY ROUTES FROM TANZANIA AND UGANDA WITH A  
TRUCKING CHAIN TO UP-COUNTRY CENTERS. KIGALI AIRPORT  
IS NOW HANDLING ABOUT 300 SHORT TONS A DAY; IT COULD  
HANDLE AS MUCH AS 1000 SHORT TONS A DAY. IN-TOWN  
WAREHOUSING CAPACITY PLENTIFUL AND IN RELATIVELY GOOD  
SHAPE. WE HAVE THE MANAGEMENT CAPACITY NOW IN KIGALI  
TO TRACK HUMANITARIAN SHIPMENTS AND TO PLAN THEIR  
EFFECTIVE DISTRIBUTION. KIGALI IS NOW AN ESSENTIAL  
AND PRACTICAL DISTRIBUTION CENTER FOR ADDRESSING  
UP-COUNTRY HUMANITARIAN CONTINGENCIES.

14. KEEPING INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS. A CONCLUSION  
TO RWANDA'S CIVIL WAR AND SOME CLOSURE ON ITS LONG  
HISTORY OF COMMUNAL MASSACRES DEPENDS ON THE WILL OF  
STATES IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO CARRY OUT  
COMMITMENTS MADE IN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS. THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KAMPALA 006541

FOR AF AND AF/C ONLY FROM RAWSON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: TWO WEEKS ALONG IN KIGALI

LEADERS AND ARMY WHO LOST THE CIVIL WAR ARE NOW OUTSIDE RWANDA'S FRONTIERS SUSTAINED AS REFUGEES ON INTERNATIONAL BENEVOLENCE BUT STILL ARMED AND STILL ORGANIZING WITHIN THE REFUGEE CAMPS AN ARMED INVASION OF RWANDA. WE MUST FIND A WAY OF ENFORCING INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS BY DISARMING SOLDIERS AND BREAKING THE POLITICIANS' INTIMIDATING HOLD OVER CIVILIAN REFUGEES. WITHIN RWANDA, WE MUST ENSURE THAT CRIMES OF GENOCIDE AND OTHER VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARE DEALT WITH JUSTLY AND BY INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS. SETTING UP AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL IS PART OF THE SOLUTION, BUT WE ALSO MUST AS A MATTER OF FIRST ORDER HELP RWANDA CREATE A VIABLE JUDICIAL SYSTEM OPEN TO INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION.

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15. THE TASKS OUTLINED ABOVE ARE DAUNTING IN THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES. WITH AN ARMY THAT HAS LOST DISCIPLINE, A GOVERNMENT THAT CAN BARELY FUNCTION, AND A SOCIETY TRAUMATIZED BY COMMUNAL VIOLENCE, RWANDA'S CIRCUMSTANCES ARE NOT ENCOURAGING. BUT NEW-FOUND SECURITY IN THE GOVERNMENT ZONE PROVIDES AN EFFECTIVE PLATFORM FOR ADDRESSING THESE ILLS AND A HUB FOR EFFICIENTLY RESPONDING TO HUMANITARIAN NEEDS. WE CAME BACK TO KIGALI TO HELP SAVE LIVES AND MUST REMAIN HERE FOR THE SELF-SAME REASON. BUSH

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